1: Hart & Pilling E-5 (1928-1954) 1960
OI20 Tiwi OI20

riage with a boy who was willing to become the "worker" of the girl's controller.[9]

From the economic standpoint, the large household has much the same function as before the days of the Mission. The younger women go out together and gather food; the old women stay home with the young children. The younger men bring home choice items, which now are trade goods and money from Darwin. The "boss" of the great household is wealthy; today, he has food, tobacco, clothes, and usually sufficient money to gamble. The composition of the great households has altered, but their function is very much the same. The establishment of the monogamous Catholic Cabbagee is even larger than that of the polygamous old pagan, Ki-in-kumi, described in an earlier chapter; Cabbagee, with only one wife, has more women under his "control" than ever Ki-in-kumi had, despite his list of twenty-one wives. The Tiwi have thus been able to retain their large households even under the Mission-imposed system of monogamy.

The Change from Patriliny to Matriliny

In the pre-Cooper era of feuding, the largest significant units among the Tiwi were the bands; the Tiwi never, in that by-gone day, acted as a tribe, even in their attacks upon such outsiders as the British. In the 1950's, when informants talked of the old days they commonly mentioned that male members of old bands came together as units to go on war parties. These old bands did not have a strict rule of descent. But, as has already been indicated, the majority of the males were regarded all their lives as members of the band to which their father belonged. That is, the major unit of the old Tiwi social structure was patrilineal in emphasis.

There also existed in the old Tiwi pattern a strictly matrilineal clan organization, related primarily to totemism. One of the totemic animals of a clan stood for a member of that clan in the song composed to commemorate his death; for instance, the first line of the mourning song for a deceased male of the Red Paint Clan might be "I am red paint." Occasionally, several members of a clan helped one of their number in a fight, but this was apparently not very common before the Mission era. This clan-organization pattern prevailed among the Tiwi through about 1930. Then major and most unpredictable changes began.

What does one expect to happen when a society which has a patrilineal emphasis, like the old Tiwi one, comes into contact with a European society where, if there is any emphasis, it is a patrilineal one? Although one would ordinarily expect a strengthening of patriliny, such was not the case among the Tiwi. The old social unit which was predominantly patrilineal was a territorial group with its major functions in the system of feuding. When the

[9] By 1953, the terms "boss" and "worker" had come into the local Tiwi dialect to indicate superordinate and subordinate status interrelationships.

1: Hart & Pilling E-5 (1928-1954) 1960
OI20 Tiwi OI20

feuding system departed and the Tiwi community became more centralized, especially around the Bathurst Island Mission, the utility of the old band organization diminished and the underlying clan organization dominated. Suddenly, fighting was no longer in terms of band membership, for the matrilineal clan had become the only social unit of significance.

Today young Tiwi often deny that they have any band membership. But it is not unknown for teen-age Tiwi males to lie awake at night counting up the members of their matrilineal clan. According to informants, in the 1940's and 50's the major fights which occurred at Bathurst Island Mission were interclan skirmishes.

Thus, among the Tiwi, we have an example of how a society with a patrilineal emphasis under strong influence from another society with a patrilineal emphasis may, if there is an underlying matrilineal organization, become a society which is for all practical purposes solely matrilineal. The introductory student of anthropology is thereby warned that characterizations of societies as matrilineal or patrilineal are rarely adequate to form the basis for reconstructing past or predicting future forms of such societies.

Tiwi and the Australian Nation

Finally, let us consider those aspects of modern Tiwi life which attract national attention in Australia. What do the newspaper-reading members of the Australian public know about the Tiwi?

Probably the best known Tiwi is a male in his thirties, formerly known to other Tiwi and local residents of Darwin as Bobby Wilson. About 1953, an Australian movie producer, Charles Chauvel, went hunting for a "full-blood" aborigine who could act well enough to portray an aboriginal male in what became the Australian movie "Jedda." In Darwin, the producer found a football star from the Darwin group of Tiwi who could fill the part. Bobby Wilson soon was billed as Robert Tudawali.[3] He went "on location" at several spots in the Territory and finally traveled to Sydney for the studio shooting. The Sydney papers caught his story and spread his bearded face over the country. Bobby Wilson's photo from the local newspaper was hung up in several native huts at Bathurst Island Mission. After much publicity, he ultimately returned to his wife and their hut in the Bagot Native Compound in Darwin. Again the newshounds caught his story. According to them, he had returned to a life of degradation. The Australian public was shocked that a star of one of their best films should be discarded to live again like every other aborigine in Darwin. Tudawali was "rescued" and given a second role in another Australian film.

Bobby Wilson was only one of a large number of young Tiwi who are recognized as fine athletes. There are two football teams in Darwin which have Tiwi members: the Catholic team, St. Mary's, which often takes the local

[3] The last name Tudawali is an attempt to spell the Tiwi word for shark.

3: Hart E-5 (1928-1929) 1930 OI20 Tiwi OI20

period is the prelude to the complete lapsing of the title to the district. The prominent part played in this institution by the father's father and the fact that most of the present districts held on such a title are held from the father's father whereas comparatively few are held through an ancestor (necessarily more remote) who has been forgotten, seems to indicate that *yirt' amini* holdings do not last more than three generations before they lapse for want of sufficient able-bodied men to enforce them.

It must not be imagined that the whole of Melville and Bathurst Islands are divided into such holdings nor indeed that everyone in the tribe belongs to such a group. The main obstacle to this lies in the self-evident fact that if one's father's father dies in the territory of another horde, as must have quite frequently have happened in the days of marauding expeditions between hordes, there can be no such thing as a *yirt' amini* holding of the district wherein he died. Moreover there are numbers of the Tiwi whose fathers and grandfathers died young, and the essence of the system is that the grandfather should have been old enough to have sufficient male children and grandchildren to enforce the claim.

It can easily be seen from the above how it comes about that each horde has a number of names, since each one of the *yirt' amini* group-names is liable to be applied to the whole horde merely by adding *-ila* or *-ula* to the name of the district they control.

Spencer's list of horde names is at variance with mine, because he did not realize this. Out of six men of the *Tiklawila*, one might easily get six different answers to his question as to their "country," each giving the name of his *yirt' amini* group. It is quite possible that the horde names that are used here—*Tiklawila*, *Munupula*, etc.—are really *yirt' amini* names that have become extended to include a whole horde either by the identification of a very powerful *yirt' amini* group with a horde in the eyes of the rest of the tribe or by the former horde name becoming tabu and a *yirt' amini* name being substituted. This view is strengthened by the fact that in one or two of the hordes, the horde name is still in use as the name of a district. Thus whereas the whole of the territory of the *Wilraŋgwila* on the north of Melville is technically *Wilraŋgu*, the native name for Karslake Island, a small portion of that territory, is *Wilraŋgu*. Similarly *Malau* is a creek in the territory of the *Malauila* horde.

A man is born into the horde of his father. Should his father die and his mother be taken by a member of another horde he goes with her, and WHILE THE WOMAN WILL ALWAYS BE LOOKED UPON AS BELONGING TO HER FORMER HORDE, THE CHILD CHANGES HIS, TAKING THAT OF HIS STEPFATHER.

9:Harney & Elkin E-4, 5 (ca. 1940)1943 OI20 Tiwi OI20

Each of these *awuya*, sometimes called Pukui (sun),[1] has a number of cult centres and in them resides the "old woman" of the clan; these are also called *awuya*. The sacred site of the Tukambani clan is at Morapeanga, Cape Keith; of the Miatui, Irapulanwa, Buchanan Island in the Apsley Straits; of the Kudjali, Padupi; Sanke Bay, or as the natives say in their quaint pidjin, Djenakaba, which is on the north of Melville Island, an old trepang site.

As far as could be ascertained, no fixed belief is associated with these clan centres. They are not burial caves invested with a ritual significance such as we find in parts of the mainland (Wadaman and other tribes), yet the shade or spirit of the dead does follow the track made by the natives as they come from the sacred centre to "show it the road." Only some natives know this. It is probably a ritual that has become lost with the advent of new ideas.

Clan Relationship. To marry within a major clan or phratry, *aramipi*, is taboo, *kimiyari*. A person of one phratry can only marry into the other two major clans. Thus, all Tukambani and their kindred sub-clans are mother, mother's brother, mother's mother, mother's mother's brother, sister's son and daughter, brother and sister. They call people in the other two clans father, father's sister, son, daughter, wife, wife's brother, wife's mother, wife's mother's brother, wife's mother's mother and wife's mother's brother. In other words, descent is matrilineal.

Marriage Law. The marriage law is the same as in most tribes: a man marries his mother's mother's brother's daughter's daughter or, as the natives would say, "a man marries his group sister's son's daughter." They have equal exchange in marriage, that is "opposite brothers exchange sisters." An "uncle" (mother's brother) takes his (group) nephew's daughter, and the group nephew receives the uncle's daughter in exchange (cross-cousin type). There are neither subsections nor sections and indeed, no moieties. A reason may be suggested for this: being isolated on the island, each person knew his or her relationship to the others, and as there was no intertribal exchange, the need for this type of classification never arose. One of the important functions of the section and subsection systems is to facilitate intercourse between tribal groups.

The marriage system with relationship terms is explained in the following table:

		1		2
A	.. *ubunga* m.m.m.m. or sr.	*UWANI* M.M.M.M.B. or B. (Ego)	*yarbunaiya* w.	*YANUMINI* W.B.
B	.. *yamoriy* m.m.m.	*YARMURDI* M.M.M.B.	*umbreniwa* w.m.	*YAPINAWINI* W.M.B.
C	.. *imaninga* m.m.	*IMANANI* M.M.B.	*tumaliya* w.m.m.	*TAMALITI* W.M.M.B.
D	.. *inari* m.	*ILAMANI* M.B.	*umarani* w.m.m.m.	*IMERANINGA* W.M.M.M.B.
A	.. *ubunga* sr.	*UWANE* B.	*yabunaiya* w.	*YANUMINI* W.B.

[1] These natives have numerous names for the same object, the result of the taboo on certain words after a death.